/191 cont./

the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. Therefore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

1: Nachtigall--148 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
● 692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
623 bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
C
[692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
T
682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P
[177] for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

/213 cont./

682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur. 685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor 695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for 426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con- 692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to 695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the 623 209 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom [686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to 623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently 692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated 685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into 578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by [231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each 696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The 685 417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished 681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLATOS DE INDIOS." HUACAS

In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 The tẽ eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show in-
*756 terest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 As a rule, it is unusual for a tẽ eu to be universally
*[756] acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identifi-
[124] cation. All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Neverthe-
[56] less, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well
[692] hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
● [692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[463] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no data) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[657] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[657] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses
[764] so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things
[177] and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is
[692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[623] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the
[423] Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

593 Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
623 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
684 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
692 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]